278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase [439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 731] The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course, there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium [361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention smallpox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in [751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to [771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men [756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instruments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Querdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs;
[825 only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
973] legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

824 Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

565 563 174 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

● 771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual [796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag- 778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The 643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag 771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Desert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza- 797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵎⵍⵍⵉ ⵙ ⵜⵓⵔⵉⵜ,

ⵜⴰⵏ ⵉⵙ ⵏⵍⵍⴰ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ, ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵔⵙ ⵙⵉⵏ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

Chapter Vi

War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

Chapter VII

Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /|⋮⋮|| , /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵉⵅⵓⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioue1 ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

241 There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

•771 /118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real.

"Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

77 /118 cont./ inexplicable repugnance shown by the Tuareg for certain foods or for certain behavior is nothing other than a manifestation of taboos designed to protect them against the spiritual forces loosed by the persons or things in their surroundings.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to study the customs of the Tuareg world in the light of the philosophy of the forces whose principles are set forth by the Reverend Father Tempels in his Philosophie bantoue /Bantu Philosophy/.

//119/ V

Life of the Individual

128 In closing this survey of the Ahaggar it is well to look briefly at the activities engaged in by the Targui from the day of his birth to that of his death. In following the natural course of a life, we may understand better than from more detailed studies of a particular phase the essence of the life of an individual within a tribe, insofar as it is possible to separate what is individual from what is tribal.

844 The young Targui makes his entry into the world in the tent, upon a rug of clean sand from the nearest wadi, sand which is, as we know, practically sterile, the heat destroying all microbes. Before giving birth, the young mother has followed the advice of her aunt or mother; she has walked up and down small hills ever since the first pains in order to "allow the infant to get well placed." As the pains increase, the young woman, now back in the tent, kneels on the sand, buttocks resting on the heels, and knees spread very wide apart; with raised arms she grasps two ropes which hang from the tent stakes. Two women hold her by the waist, encourage her,